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but the fact of its appearing in Norwegian and Faroese shows that it is not exceptional or local. It may be noted that both *balde* and *dask* are used figuratively for gossip. For a full account of the English compound see 'The New English Dictionary.'

BALE (3): *balge* 'a tub,' used in connection with bailing out a boat.

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CYNEWULF'S PRINCIPAL SOURCE
FOR THE THIRD PART OF
'CHRIST.'

It is well known that, in 1853, FRANZ DIETRICH (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* ix, 193-214) disclosed the threefold character of the Old English poem of 'Christ' (WÜLKER's 'Geschichte der Angels. Litteratur,' pp. 172-3; EBERT's 'Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande,' iii, 45-51; MORLEY's 'English Writers,' new edition, ii, 227-9). According to this scholar, the first division, that of the Advent, terminates with line 439; the second, that of the Ascension, with line 778; while the third, that of the Last Judgment, extends from line 778 to the close of the poem. Its author, CYNEWULF, is supposed to have derived his subject-matter to some extent directly from the Bible, but also from Latin ecclesiastical writers. Thus, for example, DIETRICH showed that GREGORY's Twenty-third Homily on the Gospels had been utilized for the second division, and his Tenth Homily for the third (WÜLKER, *l. c.*, p. 173; cf. EBERT, *l. c.*, p. 47). With these two exceptions, no originals for the 'Christ' have, so far as I am aware, been pointed out, though TEN BRINK ('Early English Literature,' pp. 49, 51, 53-55) suggests a general acquaintance on CYNEWULF's part with Latin models.

There is a Latin hymn which might naturally be thought of in connection with the third part of the 'Christ,' the Last Judgment. It is one whose first stanza is quoted by BEDE in his treatise 'De Arte Metrica' (KEIL, 'Grammatici Latini,' vii, 259). The author is unknown. The date of the hymn is sufficiently early to admit of its having served as a model to CYNEWULF. MARCH ('Latin Hymns,' p.

256) says it "is as old as the seventh century;" EBERT (*op. cit.*, i, 530) is inclined to place it earlier: "wohl auch in das sechste Jahrhundert hinaufreichen kann" are his words. This hymn is both abecedarian and irregularly alliterative. It is best known, like most of the mediæval hymns, by its opening line,

"Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini."

I hope to show that the correspondences between this poem and the third division of the 'Christ' are so numerous and close as to justify us in the conclusion that here, at length, is the Latin model of which we are in search. For this purpose I will first quote without comment the corresponding passages in pairs, the Old English following the Latin.

I. Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini,
Fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans.

*ponne mid fêre foldbûende
se micla dæg meahthan dryhtnes
æt midre niht mægne bihlæmed
scire gesceafte, swā oft sceaða fêcne
þeof þristlice, þe on þýstre færeð,
on sweartre niht sorglêase hæleð
semninga forfêhð slêpe gebundne.*

'Christ,' 868-874.

II. Clangor tubae per quaternas terrae plagas concinens,
Vivos una mortuosque Christo ciet obviam.

*ponne frôm fêowerum foldan scætum
þām ýtemestum eorðan rices
englas ælbeorhte on efen bláwað
býman on brehtme, beofað middangeard,
hrúse under hæledum; hlýðað tósomne
trume and torhte wið tungla gong,
singað and swinsiað súðan and norðan,
éastan and westan ofer ealle gesceaft,
weccað of deaðe dryhtgumena bearn,
eall monna cynn tó meotudsceafte
egeslic of þære ealdan moldan, hatað hý upp
ástandan
snêome of slêpe þý fæstan.*

'Christ,' 879-890a.

III. De coelesti iudex arce, maiestate fulgidus,
Clarior angelorum choris comitatus aderit.

*ponne semninga ou Syne beorg
súðan-éastan sunnan léoma
cymeð of scyppende scýnan léohtor,
þonne hit men mægen móðum dhycgan,
beorhte blican, þonne bearn godes
purh heofona gehleodu hider bðýweð.
Cymeð wundorlic Cristes onsýn,*

*æðelcyninges wlite éastan fróm roderum
on sefan swéte sinum folce,
biter bealofullum, gebléod wundrum,
éadgum and earmum ungelice.*

*and him on healfa gehwone heofonengla préat
ymbútan farað, ælbeorhtra scolu,
hergas hálgra héapum geneahhe.*

'Christ,' 900-910, 928-930.

IV. Erubescet orbis lunae, sol et obscurabitur,
Stellae cadent pallescentes, mundi tremet ambitus.

*ponne weorðeð sunne sweart gewended
ou blódes hîw, séo þe beorhte scân
ofer érworuld ælða bearnum;
móna þæt sylfe, þe éar mōncynne
nihtes lýhte, niðer gehréoseð,
and steorran swá some strédað of heofone
purh þá strongan lýft stormum ábéatne.*

'Christ,' 935-941.

V. Flamma ignis anteibit iusti vultum iudicis,
Coelos, terras et profundi fluctus ponti devorans.

*Dyneð deóp gesceaft and fore dryhtne færeð
wælmfýra mæst ofer wíðne grund,
hlēmmeð hāta lēg.*

*ponne eall þreo on efen nimeð
wōn fýres wælm wide tōsomne,
se swearta lig: scās mid hyra fiscum,
eorðan mid hire beorgum, and upheofon
torhtne mid his tunglum.*

'Christ,' 931-933^a, 965-969^a.

VI. Gloriosus in sublimi Rex sedebit solio,
Angelorum tremebunda circumstabunt agmina.

*ponne mihtig god on þone mēran beorg
mid þý mæstan mægenþrymme cymeð,
heofonengla cýning hālig scīneð,
wuldorlic ofer weredum, waldende god,
and hine ymbútan æðelduguð betast
hálge herefēðan hlátre blīcað,
éadig engla gedryht: ingeþoncum
forhte beofiað fore fæder egsan.*

*ponne Crīst siteð on his cýnesteole,
on héahsetle heofonmægna god.*

'Christ,' 1008-1015, 1217-8.

VII. Huius omnes ad electi colliguntur dexteram,
Pravi pavent a sinistris, hoedi velut foetidi.

*ponne beoð gesomnad on þá swiðran hond
þá clēnan folc Crīste sylfum
gecorene bi cystum, þá éar sinne cwide georne*

*lustum léstun on hyra lifdagum,
and þær wōmsceaðan on þone wyrsan dæl
fore scýppende scýrede weorðað,
háteð him gewitan on þá winstran hond
sigora sōðcýning synfulra weorud,
þær hý árasáde réotað and beofiað
fore frēan forhte swá fúle swá géat,
unsýfre folc, árna ne wēnað.*

'Christ,' 1222-1232.

VIII. Ite, dicit Rex ad dextros, regnum coeli sumite,
Pater vobis quod paravit ante omne saeculum.

Karitate qui fraterna me iuvistis pauperem,
Caritatis nunc mercedem reportate divites.

Magnus illis dicit iudex: cum iuvistis pauperes,
Panem, domum, vestem dantes, me iuvistis humiles.

*Onfóð nú mid frēondum mīnes fæder rice,
þæt éow wæs éar woruldum wynlice gearo,
blæd mid blissum, beorht éðles wlite,
ponne gé þá lifwelan mid þám léofestum
swáse svegldrēamas gesēon mōsten!
Gé þæs earnedon, þá gé earne mēn
worulðpearfende willum onfēngun
on mildum sefan: þonne hý him þurh mīnne
nōman*

*éaðmóde tó éow árna báedun,
þonne gé hyra hulpon and him hleoð géfon,
hingrendum hláf and hrægl nacedum,
and þá þe on sáre séoce lágun,
æfdon unsófte ádle gebundne,
tó þám gé holdlice hyge staðeladon
mid módes myne; eall gé þæt mé dydon,
ponne gé hý mid sibbum sóhtun and hyra
sefan tyrmedon*

*forð on frófre: þæs gé fégre sceolon
léan mid léofum lange brúcan.*

'Christ,' 1345-1362.

IX. Nec tardabit et sinistris loqui iustus arbiter:

In gehennae, maledicti, flammas hinc discedite!

Obsecrantem me audire despexistis mendicum,

Nudo vestem non dedistis, neglexistis languidem.

Quibus contra iudex altus: Mendicanti quamdiu

Opem ferre despexistis, me sprevistis improbi.

Retro ruent tum iniusti ignes in perpetuos,

Vermis quorum non morietur, flamma nec restinguitur.

Satan atro cum ministris quo tenetur carcere,

Fletus ubi mugitusque, strident omnes dentibus.

*Onginneð þonne tó þám ylfum ungelice
wordum mæðlan, þe him bið on þá wynstran
hond*

*Bibéad ic éow, þæt gé bróðor mīne
in woruldrice wel árétten,*

of þám ðætum, þe ic eow on eorðan geaf,
 earmra hulpen: earge gé þæt læstun!
 þearfum forwyrndon, þæt hí under éowrum
 þæce mósten

in gebúgan, and him ðghwæs oftugon
 þurh heardne hyge hrægles nacedum,
 móses meuteléasum: þeah hí him þurh minne
 noman

wérge wgnhale wétan bádan
 dryncas gedreahste, duguða léase,
 þurste geþegede(?), gé him þriste oftugan.
 Sárge gé ne sóhton ne him swæslíc word
 frófre gespræcon, þæt hí þý fréoran hyge
 móde geféngen. Eall gé þæt mé dydon
 tó hýndum heofoncýninge! þæs gé sceolon
 hearde ádréogan

wíte tó wíðan ealdre, wræc mid déofum
 gepolian!

Farað nú áwyrge willum biscyrede
 engla dréames on éce fir,
 þæt wæs Sátane and his gesiðum mid
 déofle gegearwad and þære deorcan scole
 hát and heorogrim: on þæt gé hréosan sceo-
 lan.

Ne mágon hí þonne gehýnan heofoncýninges
 bibod

rædum birofene: sceolon raðe feallan
 on grimme grund, þá ðer wið gode wunnon.

 wérge tó forwyrde on witehús.

Ne mæg þæt háte dæl of heoloðcýnne
 in sinnihste synne forbærnan
 tó wíðan féore wgm of þære sáwle,
 ac þær se déopa séað dréorge fèdeð,
 grundléas giemeð gæsta on þéostre,
 éleð hí mid þý ealdan lige and mid þý
 egsan forste,
 wráðum wyrnum and mid wíta fela
 frécnum feorhgómum folcum scendeð.

'Christ,' 1363-4, 1500-1515, 1520-1527,
 1536, 1542-1549.

X. Tunc fideles ad coelestem sustollentur patriam,
 Choros inter angelorum regni petent gaudia.

Urbis summae Hierusalem introibunt gloriam,
 Vera lucis atque pacis in qua fulget visio.

XPM regem iam paterna claritate splendidum
 Ubi celsa beatorum contemplantur agmina.

þonne þá gecorenan fore Crist berað
 beorhte frætwæ.

.
 þæt is se ððel, þe nó gegendad weorðeð.

 áwo tó ealdre engla gemánan.

fæder ealra geweald
 hafað and healdeð hálígra weorud.
 þær is engla song, éadigra blis!
 þær is seo dýre dryhtnes onsien
 eallum þæm gesælgum sunnan léohstre!

.
 frið fréondum bitwéon forð bútan æfestum
 gesælgum on swegle, sib bútan niðe
 hálgum on gemonge.

ac þær cýninges giefæ
 áwo brúcað éadigra gedryht,
 weoruda wlitescýnast, wuldres mid dryhten!
 'Christ,' 1635-6a, 1640, 1646, 1648b-1652, 1659-
 1661, 1663b, 1665.

It will not escape observation:

1. That there is a considerable number of verbal resemblances between the Latin and the Old English, amounting in several instances to literal translations. Thus:

- I. a. repentina: mid fære, sennunga
 b. dies magna: se micla dæg
 c. Domini: dryhtnes
 d. fur: þeof
 e. velut: swá
 f. obscura nocte: on sweartre niht
 g. improvisos: sorgléase
 h. occupans: forfêhð
- II. a. clangor tubae: býman on brehtme
 b. per quaternas terrae plagas: from
 fëowerum foldan scéatam
 c. concinens: singað and swinsiað
 d. ciet mortuos: weccað of dëaðe
 dryhtgumena bearn
 e. obviam Christo: tó meotudsceafte(?)
- III. a. maiestate fulgidus: (loosely para-
 phrased in ll. 900-910, preserving,
 however, the thought of both
 words); cf. mægenþrymme, l. 1009.
 b. comitatus: on healfa gehwone
 c. angelorum choris: heofonengla
 þrëat, hergas hálígra
 d. claris: ælbeorhtra
- IV. a. sol obscurabitur: sunne sweart ge-
 wendeð

- b. erubescet: *gewendeð on blódes hiw* (applied to the sun instead of the moon)
- c. stellae cadent: *steorran strédað of heofone*
- V. a. ante vultum iudicis: *fore dryhtne*
- b. flamma ignis: *wælmfýra mæst, háta lég.*
- c. coelos: *upheofon*
- d. terras: *eorðan*
- e. fluctus ponti: *sæs*
- VI. a. in sublimi solio: *on his cynestóle, on hēahsetle*
- b. sedebit: *sited*
- c. gloriosus Rex: *heofonmægna God*
- d. circum-: *ymbútan*
- e. angelorum agmina: *engla gedryht*
- f. tremebunda: *forhte beofiað*
- VII. a. electi: *gecorene*
- b. colligentur: *béod gesomnad*
- c. ad dexteram: *on þá swiðran hond*
- d. a sinistris: *on þá winstran hond*
- e. pravi: *wgmsceaðan*
- f. pavent: *beofiað forefréan forhte*
- g. velut: *swá*
- h. hoedi: *gét*
- i. foetidi: *fúle, unsýfre(?)*
- VIII. a. sumite: *onfóð*
- b. regnum: *rice*
- c. pater: *fæder*
- d. quod paravit: *þæt . . wæs . . gearo*
- e. ante omne saeculum: *ær woruldum*
- f. mercedem: *léan, (gé þæs earne-don)*
- g. reportate: *ge . . sceolon . . brúcan*
- h. pauperes: *earme mēn*
- i. panem: *hláf*
- j. vestem: *hrægl*
- IX. a. sinistris: *yflum*
- b. loqui: *wordum mæðlan*
- c. nec tardabit: *onginneð*
- d. obsecrantem me: *purh minne noman . . bēdan*
- e. nudo vestem: *hrægles nacedum*
- f. neglexistis languidum: *sárge gé ne sóhton*
- g. me sprevisistis: *gé þæt mé dydon tó hýndum*
- h. maledicti: *áwyrgede*

- i. in flammis gehennae: *on éce fir*
- j. discedite: *farað*
- k. Satan cum ministris: *Satane and his gesiðum mid*
- l. ruent: *gé hrēosan sceolon, sceolon raðe feallan*
- m. carcere: *witehús*
- n. in perpetuos: *sinnihte, tó wídan féore*
- o. vermis: *wráðum wyrnum*
- X. a. fideles: *þá gecorenan*
- b. patriam: *éðel*
- c. inter choros angelorum: *engla gemánan, engla song*
- d. paterna: *fæder(?)*
- e. beatorum agmina: *éadigra gedryht*
- f. lucis visio: *dryhtnes onstien sunnan léohstre*
- g. pacis: *frið, sib*

2. That, in certain of these cases, the Old English word or phrase would not correspond to the Latin of the Vulgate texts on which the Latin hymn is based. Thus:

- I. f. obscura: *sweartre*
- I. g. improvisos: *sorgléase*
- I. h. occupans: *forfêhð*
- II. c. concinens: *singað and swinsiað*
- II. d. ciet: *wegcað*
- III. d. claris: *ælbeorhtra*
- V. e. fluctus ponti: *sæs*
- VI. e. angelorum agmina: *engla gedryht*
- VI. f. tremebunda: *forhte beofiað*
- VII. f. pavent: *beofiað fore fréan forhte*
- VII. i. foetidi: *fúle*
- VIII. f. mercedem: *léan*
- VIII. i. panem: *hláf*
- VIII. j. vestem: *hrægl*
- IX. g. me sprevisistis: *mé dydon tó hýndum*
- IX. k. satan cum ministris: *Satane and his gesiðum mid*
- IX. l. ruent: *hrēosan, feallan.*
- X. b. patriam: *éðel*
- X. e. beatorum agmina: *éadigra gedryht*
- X. g. pacis: *frið, sib*

Most of the foregoing seem to me conclusive with respect to CYNEWULF's use of this hymn.

3. That, as a rule, the order of events in the Latin hymn is followed by CYNEWULF. So in I, II, III, IV, VI, VII, VIII, IX (in general),

X (in general). With respect to V, the Old English poem anticipates a portion, that referring to the flame of fire, placing it before the whole of IV.

4. That certain distichs of the Latin hymn are not paraphrased by CYNEWULF. These are the distichs beginning with B, L, P, Y and Z. B interrupts the narrative, though not more than CYNEWULF frequently does in other places; L and P introduce a dramatic element, which would be out of place here (EBERT, *op. cit.*, 3: 50-51); Y and Z are hortatory, and not epical. The omission of L and P is more intelligible than that of B, Y and Z; CYNEWULF is dramatic in the first part of the 'Christ,' the Advent, and not in the second and third; but he is frequently hortatory and admonitive, perhaps so frequently as to leave no space for sermonizing at just these points. Another reason for the exclusion of the questions put by the righteous and the wicked respectively may be found in CYNEWULF's probable unwillingness to interrupt these solemn and awful deliverances by anything in the nature of a retort.

5. That the passages of 'Christ' here quoted do not cover the whole of DIETRICH's third division, and, in fact, that only a small proportion of these 916 lines is adduced in evidence. To meet this objection it will be necessary to examine these lines somewhat more carefully, but first to consider what subject-matter is furnished us by the stanzas of the Latin hymn, so far as made use of by CYNEWULF. An analysis of these stanzas or distichs shows that we have ten stages in the development, ten *Leitmotive*, as they might be called.

I. The great day of the Lord shall appear suddenly, like a thief seizing the unwary in the dark night.

II. The sound of the trumpet shall summon quick and dead from the four corners of the earth.

III. The Judge shall approach, resplendent in majesty, attended by the angelic choirs.

IV. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood; the stars shall fall, and the earth be shaken.

V. Fire shall break out before the face

of the Judge, and consume heaven, earth and sea.

VI. The King shall sit on the throne of his majesty, surrounded by trembling hosts of angels.

VII. The elect shall be gathered at the right, and the wicked, like fetid goats, at the left.

VIII. The righteous shall be welcomed to the kingdom, because of their pity for the poor.

IX. The wicked shall be cast into hell, because of their uncharitableness.

X. The faithful shall be admitted to the joys of Paradise.

For the sake of brevity, these may be called respectively the Doomsday motive, the Trumpet motive, the Judge, Darkness, Fire, Throne, Assemblage, Welcome, Sentence and Paradise motives. The object of this analysis is to exhibit the re-introduction and blending of these motives in various transitional passages. Other motives are occasionally found, and will be characterized as occasion requires.

GREIN's sixteenth Canto of the 'Christ,' ll. 779-867, is a transitional passage; 779-782^a, connective passage, referring to the close of the preceding division; 782-785^a, Doomsday motive; 785^b-789^a, Advent motive; 789^b-796, Doomsday motive, personal fear; 797-808^a, Doomsday motive, Rune passage; 808^b-815, Fire motive; 816-826^a, exhortation; 826^b-828^a, Darkness motive (cf. IV); 828^b-832, Sentence motive; 833-848^a, Judge motive, and terror of sinners; 848^b-850, exhortation; 851-867, comparison of life to a voyage, with exhortation (865-867), ending in Ascension motive (*pá hé heofonum ástág*). The whole passage forms a kind of interlude, while it is also a prelude to Part III, as is apparent from the repetition of the whole Judgment motive in various forms, while the Advent and Ascension motives occur only once each.

A strong chord is struck at the opening of the Judgment Poem proper (GREIN's Seventeenth Canto). This is the passage first quoted under I (ll. 868-874); 875 amplifies 873-874; 876-878 possibly renders the *vivos* of II; 879-890^a is the passage given under II, the principal Trumpet motive; 890^b-899 seems to be a variation on the Assemblage motive,

anticipatory; 900-910, principal Judge motive; 911-921, paraphrase of *maiestate fulgidus*; 922-925^a, exhortation, passing into (925^b-930) second part of principal Judge motive (the attending angels); 931-933^a, first half of principal Fire motive, anticipatory of its place in the Latin hymn; 933-934, opening chord of Darkness motive; 935-941, principal Darkness motive; 942-944^a, repetition of Judge motive, extended by mention of the accompanying multitude (944^a-948^a); 948^b-956, repetition of Trumpet motive; 957-959, anticipation of Sentence motive(?); 961, Doomsday motive as terror, passing over into (965-969^a) principal Fire motive, second part; 969^b-989^a, poetical amplification and variation of Fire motive; 989^b-992^a, repetition of Darkness motive, last part (*mundi tremet ambitus*?); 992^b-994, Doomsday motive, terror; 995-997, Fire motive repeated; 998-1000^a, Doomsday motive, terror and anguish, passing into (1000^b-1007) Fire motive repeated, which ends the canto with conflagration.

In contrast with the close of the preceding, the Eighteenth Canto begins (1008-1015) with the coming of the King in glory (Throne motive blended to some extent with Judge motive); 1016-1022^a, amplification of Throne motive (*tremebunda agmina*); 1022^b-1043^a, resumption of Trumpet motive (*Christo ciet obviam*); 1043^a-1045^a, Fire and Darkness motives; 1045^a-1083, Throne motive (thoughts and intents of the heart revealed before a word is spoken), complicated by passing allusions to previous motives; anticipatory introduction of the Rood motive in 1065^b-1066 (*and séo hēa rôd, ryht áræred rices tó béame*); 1084-1216, Rood motive, with extended reference to the Crucifixion, its import, and the accompanying signs.

At the beginning of the Nineteenth Canto stands the principal Throne motive (1217-1218), which is extended in 1219-1221; the Assemblage motive follows immediately, 1222-1232; 1233-1234, the Welcome and Sentence motives are slightly anticipated, though only as a kind of extension of the Assemblage motive; 1235-1262, the three notes of the righteous, and, 1263-1301, those of the wicked; 1302-1336, the advantages of confession and self-knowledge, passing into the Throne mo-

tive (1335-1336). The whole of the Twentieth Canto (1337-1362) is occupied by the Welcome motive. The first lines of the Twenty-first Canto (1363-1365) introduce the Sentence motive; 1366-1378^a, folly of expecting mercy, passing into (1378^b-1499) an address by the Judge to the wicked, in which his loving-kindness is rehearsed, with introduction of the Advent motive (1419^b-1426^a) and the Passion motive (1434-1454); the Sentence motive then appears, justified by their uncharitableness (1500-1515), and culminating in the sentence itself (1516-1524); 1525-1549, fulfilment of the decree. In the Twenty-second Canto, general reflections and admonition (1550-1634), passing into the Paradise motive (1635-1690), the poem being closed by a pointed rhetorical question.

The proof that the Third Part of CYNEWULF's poem is based on the Latin hymn will now, I think, appear conclusive. It has been shown that, in general, the order of events is that of the hymn, and that deviations from this order are either quite exceptional or only apparent, and are due in the latter case to the fondness for variations upon a theme, and for the interlacing of motives, both of which are almost inseparable from the peculiar constitution of Old English poetry. It has been shown that, in a large number of instances, the Old English words correspond to the Latin words of the hymn, and might often be regarded as literal translations of them, and that in many cases it would be vain to seek for their originals in corresponding portions of the Vulgate. It has further been shown that the omission of certain distichs of the Latin hymn from CYNEWULF's scheme can be easily accounted for. No other production antecedent to CYNEWULF's presents the incidents of the Last Judgment in the same order and at the same time in similar language, so far as is yet known. The principal motives frequently occur at the beginning of a canto, or are introduced by the adverb *þonne*. Finally, though episodes, reflective passages and exhortations are interspersed, there is nothing, either in their frequency or character, to invalidate the theory which is here set forth.

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